SPEECH

OF

ON. HORATIO SEYMOUR,

AT THE

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, BROOKLYN,

October 22, 1862.

ELLOW-CITIZENS:—The events of the last few ks have essentially changed our relationship government. A few months ago we were ually a minority who had no legal rights, no ection for our persons, no protection for our s. But the elections that have taken place, Maine to the Mississippi, have demonstrated at every point, either the majorities of Radical party have been diminished or they encountered serious and signal defeats.—(Cheers.) For all moral purposes we are now the ecutives of that great Conservative party commands the situation. I do not speak of a mere revolution in office—I speak of the which the world will heed, and which will be 1,000, at the seat of government—that the rican people demand a wise and conservative y looking to the restoration of our Union, ring the upholding of our Constitution in consequences. (Cheers.) I stand before tonight, speaking in behalf of the great Con- ive interests of our country, as one who l be outspoken in his statements. I do not n one who comes before you to plead for suffrages; but I feel as one who stands here knowing your sentiments, knowing your and having a right to say what policy will us hereafter in our conduct towards the position which now agitates the American (Applause.) It has been truly stated that h of our nation is in peril. This very propo- involving, as it does, not alone our govern- but our social system, our personal security, our rights, is one of such magnitude that we hand to approach it with an earnest, honest, ne desire to do our whole duty in the premi- (Cheers.) In that spirit I shall speak to this night. I shall not find it necessary, in ering these questions, to use a single epithet ll bridge in a single denunciation. If I am ed this night with the attendance of one of who are politically opposed to me, I beg him understand that I come here in no spirit of ar- , with a view of dictating to him what his should be. I have no term of reproach as spit; but I do stand here most earnestly to a him to listen, not to my wisdom, but to the wisdom of our fathers, who framed the Constitution. I ask him not to yield to our views. We seek no such triumph. But I wish to implore him to yield to the views of the great and good men who laid the foundation of the government and framed the Constitution under which we became so great, so prosperous, and so mighty as a nation. I stand here to invoke him to return again to those time-honored principles which for so many years were recognized by men of all classes as essential to our safety and our security as a people. Speaking then, as I feel I have a right to do, in behalf of the great Conservative party which from this time forth is to represent the policy of our government, I mean to be most explicit and outspoken in all that I have to say. (Great applause.) I shrink from no questions. I seek to grapple with every problem involved in our present position. If the people of this State shall see fit to place me again in the Executive chair, I wish to go there with the full understanding on their part of all my views and of all my purposes. (Cheers.) What, then, is now the situation of this land? I do not propose to look backward. I do not propose to review the past. I propose, in the first place, to inquire what is now the situation of our country, and what duties does that condition impose upon us. What *I believe the war might have been averted;* but when I believe thus, I recognize the fact of its existence; and recognizing that fact, I accept it as a thing which I am bound to regard in all my views as to the policy of the future. I recognize and accept the fact that at this moment the destinies, the honor, the glory of our country, hang poised on the conflict of the battle-field. I recognize the fact now that whether we would have had war or not, it exists in all its vast proportions in our land; and I recognize the fact now that it is the duty of every man who loves his country, of every true man who would stand by its institutions, to see that the whole measure of his influence and all the weight of his power is thrown in that battle-field on the side of the flag of our Union. (Cheers.) For this reason, then, we are bound to do in the future what many of us have done in the past. I have stood among the hills and vales of the country where I live to invoke

our young men to rally around the standard of our country. I have done all that was in my power to do to uphold this Government. Although it was not an administration of my choice, yet still it was the Government of my country; I have invoked all men to stand loyally by it, because such was their duty. (Cheers.) Now, let me state distinctly what I understand to be the position of the great Conservative classes of our land. I use this term "Conservative" in antagonism to the term "Radical," for this reason: I do not ignore the existence of parties in our country; I do not wish to ignore them. I believe them to be essential to the wise and just conduct of our affairs. The Convention which met at Syracuse, and which put in nomination another ticket, different from that on which my name stands, saw fit to make a new line. They saw fit to seek a triumph not alone over us, but over the conservative members of their own organization. They saw fit there to say that they would put in nomination a ticket whose very presentation by that organization should be an argument at the Capital of our country, that their own peculiar extreme views of policy should be followed out by this government. Now, then, in behalf of all Conservative men—I care not what party they may have heretofore acted with—I accept the issues which they have made with us, and I will state them very plainly and clearly, to show whether at this time we should be sustained by the great body of the loyal, intelligent and conservative citizens of our State. In the first place, then, we hold principles upon these subjects which are not held by our opponents, and which are essential, not only to our success in this great war in which we are engaged, but which are indispensable to the success of the Government under any circumstances. I opposed the election of Mr. Lincoln. I deplored that result; but he was elected constitutionally, and it was my duty to bow to that decision. I did so for the purpose of sustaining him as the President of the United States. I deplored the policy he adopted at the outset of his administration; but it was his right to decide and adopt a policy, and it was my duty to obey, and I yielded to the decision of rightful authority. My friends, we have always been opposed to the doctrine of the "higher law"—that doctrine that men have a right to set up their own views, their own passions and prejudices against the law of the land or the decrees of the regularly constituted authorities acting within their Constitutional limits. (Applause and cheers.)—It is thus: because we hold that men are displeased with the laws of the land, they should have them repealed Constitutionally. The laws must not be resisted. We hold, also, that if men are opposed to those in authority, the rightful remedy has been given them by the Constitution. That kind of remedy you applied in my case once. When you became tired of me, you turned me out. That is the remedy to be applied for the removal of unpopular officers. Now, when we held the power of the State, we contended for these principles of loyalty to the laws, this doctrine of obedience to law—to the principle that you are bound to respect authority. Those principles which we advocated then, we mean to press now, fully and completely. We tender, then, to this Government no conditional support. We recognize Mr. Lincoln as President of the United States—as the representative of its honor, of its dignity and its strength; and though I am politically opposed to him, I never have allowed myself to utter against him one disrespectful term, and will I ever allow myself to do so. We say, then, to this Government, you have our firm reliance, our confidence, our unconditional loyalty. We impose no terms upon you, we do not ask you to adopt our policy, but to mark out another that will receive our unwavering, our cheerful support. That is our position on this subject. This is the policy we have ever advocated; not now alone, when we were in the majority, two years ago, or one year ago, as well as now—when many of our Republican friends were denouncing the Administration of their own creation, when many of the journals were indulging in language which we held to be unfit to be applied to the Chief Magistrate of the country, we avowed the sentiments I now express to you. We look to the other side of the house, and what do we see there? They say that we are not loyal men; and we are not unfrequently denounced as men untrue to our Government, notwithstanding we have not only made these declarations, but we have carried them out in the very letter and to the very spirit. Has their loyalty, I would ask, been unconditional? Has their obedience been without terms? I beg of you to look back with me, and see how this was, and what was it they demanded, before troops should be sent to defend the flag of the country—of your country—that a policy should be adopted to please them. Who was it that did this thing but the extreme Radical Governor of Massachusetts? (Great sensation.) Who were among the journalists of the country that assailed this Administration, that threatened it with overthrow in case a certain line of policy was not carried out? Who were they Democratic editors? No, my friends; you know they were not. Who among the journals was it that continuously expressed the sentiment of the great Radical party of the country—that at all times endeavored to force their views and policy upon the Government of these United States, without respect to the embarrassment they might occasion? Not the Democratic journals—not the Conservative journals. No, my friends; but the men who denounced you and us as being untrue to the institutions of the country—as not loving that flag (pointing to the Stars and Stripes) as well as they loved it. (Great applause followed the appeal to the flag.) I charge against them here, and I appeal to you if it be not true that they have been foremost in every measure calculated to embarrass the Government, and to hinder and retard the successful prosecution of the war. (Applause, and cries of "That's so.") Now let me say this. The national life cannot be saved, unless, in addition to furnishing your Government with all it demands of arms and armed men, it has, in addition to all that, a loyal

pers on the part of the people of the country. It ain vain you furnish arms; it is vain to furnish material strength, except, also, there be obedience to law and respect to Constitutional authority. Now, my friends, we give to the Government that unity of action, that entire concert of opinion, which is to bring the war to a prompt and triumphant close. But I appeal to you if that can be done on the principles and action endorsed by the Radical party of the country and the Radical press of the country? (Cheers, and cries of "No!") I ask you, my friends, if it is possible, if every man forces his own will, his own feelings, his own highest conviction, it may be, upon the action of the Government, if this vast community can be brought to concert of action—to that unanimity of purpose without which we can never succeed in bringing down this gigantic and wicked rebellion? On the other hand—and now I appeal to you, my Radical friends—I ask you, if not to come to our ground—to that ground which we have ever held, to throw away your higher law doctrine; come to us on this plain and simple platform, that lay us down and putting away from among us disloyal and disturbing views and opinions, we will all unite in declaring that the laws shall be sustained and the constituted authorities of the country respected, and this war brought to a short and successful termination, because we are a united people. (Applause.) I appeal to you if there is any other ground of complete union—if there is any other ground of complete concord of action? I ask your consideration for this proposition we make you. I ask you, is this policy opposed to the Government? Ought it not to be accepted by the other side of the house? Let them do this. Let them be as loyal as they may desire, we will join them in that; but let them join us, and then end the contest, and then the clouds and the darkness which now overhang the land will be dissipated, and we will see before us a hope of making our country what it was three short years ago—the glory, the admiration, and the wonder of the world. (Applause.) In another thing you must agree with me. And here, again, my Radical friends, I invoke your assistance. Insubordination must be rebuked. Insubordination in the army, insubordination in the departments of Government, must be put down. I appeal to you again with regard to another point. Who in the land are the Generals, who, at all times, have bowed cheerfully to the decisions and mandates of the Government? (Cries of "McClellan!" and enthusiastic applause.) Who are those who have taken whatever positions have been assigned to them by the constituted authorities without complaint? Who have cheerfully and laboriously gone on performing their duties as well as they could or could, without disturbing the community with stories of personal wrongs or personal disappointments? (Applause.) On the other hand—and again I appeal to you if this is not true?—who are the Generals who have been made prominent from the simple fact that they have placed themselves in antagonism to their superiors, or attempted to overturn the policy of the Government, that they might gain for themselves peculiar distinction, instead of confining themselves to faithful service in upholding the constituted authority, and winning victories on the battle-field? (A voice, "J. C.!") This spirit of insubordination must be put down, if we are to save the life of the country.

But, my friends, another thing is necessary to the national life. The people must be fairly dealt with. (Applause.) There must be no more withholding of truths from the people's eyes. Why, look at this thing for a moment. Look at the consequences to the country, if this policy, that has so long kept us in darkness as to the actual condition of the country, is longer permitted to prevail. What do you hear said every day, when speaking of the war and its reverses? What gentle terms are used—"We have been laboring under misapprehensions." I will adopt the term which they so calmly introduced—"misapprehension." How happened it, my friends, that more than two hundred thousand Northern men, in the vigor of life—young men, the hopes of families, the pride and hope of our land—have been laid in new-made graves? It is, indeed, a fact—and a sad fact, too—that we have misapprehended the power of those with whom we have been combatting. (Cheers.) Now, whence came all this misapprehension? Was it accidental or casual? How came it about? We were all of us taught at school that the South had great resources. We were told of its productions, of the character of the country, and its great capabilities. We learned in our early readings the character of the Southern people, and we were taught to look upon them as brethren. We all read the stories of the Revolutionary struggle. We all heard of General Jackson and the battle of New Orleans. (Cheers.) We all gloried in the stern valor of Taylor. (Applause.) The courage of the American people, North and South alike, was known in every household in the land. But more than that: we of the great metropolis, you of the beautiful city of Brooklyn, while you every day looked out on the beautiful bay yonder, and saw vessels deeply freighted with the rich productions of the South; while you find in your workshops ten thousand evidences of the wealth of the South to buy, and the ability to produce, you were made to believe for years past, that this was a helpless, dependent, poverty-stricken, imbecile people. How came it, that against your early teachings, against your readings in history, against the daily observations and experiences of life, you entertained this monstrous mistake which has dyed the land red with the blood which has flowed from the veins of your brethren? Go back, my Radical friends, to your teachings, to your Radical press, to your prayer meetings. Go back to the sacred house of God, and you will see that this monstrous lie was told by no accident and by no inadvertence. I tell you this fatal ignorance was the result of long years of systematic teaching that spread upon the land the terrible calamities that now flood it. (Cheers.) Say what you please, think what you please, as the cause of the war. Say it is Slavery, say it is Abolitionism, say

it is ambition, say it is the thirst of wealth; but every man knows, from one end of the country to the other, North and South, that if the people had been well informed with regard to each other's powers and resources, North and South, this war, my friends, would never have been. (Cheers.) I assert, then, that the great underlying cause of these evils has been ignorance. But for this misapprehension, this fatal mistake, that was so insidiously inculcated in your minds, your country to-day would not be bathed in the blood shed by brothers in an unnatural and fratricidal war. (Cheers.) Now, I say, my friends, that the national life demands the truth, the outspoken truth. We must no longer be amused by Cabinet officers and others in high places, who tell us that the war will be a matter of only thirty days or ninety days, or that it will be ended in the next three months. Do you remember a little while ago, when a man's person was unsafe in your own intelligent city? If he said that three hundred thousand men could not crush out the rebellion, he was in danger of imprisonment; and now more than two hundred thousand men sleep in bloody graves. (Cries of "That's so.") My Radical friends, I again invoke your attentiou. I do not believe that the concealing a truth destroys the truth. I do not believe if you close our lips against fair and full debate, you will thereby avert the calamities which ignorance and a false direction of affairs must inevitably bring upon this land of ours. You may imprison gold—you may lock it up in banks or hide it in deep vaults, but I tell you, notwithstanding that, it tells a tale of depreciated currency, as surely as if it passed from hand to hand in the full light of day. (Cheers.) Hide abuses in Government; lock us up if you will while we tell of the abuses and mistakes which have brought defeat upon our armies and slaughter upon our brethren, and which to-day redden the great ocean itself with the flames of burning ships. Conceal these facts if you will, but will that stay destruction? will that ambition be less hurtful, because you seal our lips? No, my friends, you but aggravate the evil. We tell you this for your benefit, as well as for our own. We belong to that great conservative party that will govern this country hereafter. (Cheers.) I tell you, my Radical friends, whether you like it or not, the day has come when a mighty political revolution is not only about to take place, but has already actually taken place. (Applause.) I tell you that when we shall have that power which we will yet wield, we will not only ourselves enjoy free speech and free action, but we will extend the same privileges to you. In good faith, I tell you that we shall never retort the unworthy threats you made against us. (Applause.) And when you discuss our policy, when you condemn our judgments, you will be still protected by our strong arms as completely as we shall now protect ourselves. But there is another thing necessary to save the nation's life. That is, honesty and economy in the administration of public affairs. (Applause.) Now, you and I have not been unfrequently told, when we wished to point out what was regarded as great evils in public, that we were untrue to the country, and were diverting the public mind entirely from the affairs of the South into some other channel. (Laughter.) It was a puzzle to those people how we could find so much leisure to discuss the merits and demerits of individuals. But I am extremely puzzled to know how some of those people themselves can deem it worth their while to write long articles about a man so insignificant as myself. Whenever you and I attempt to look into the monstrous frauds which are being practiced upon the country, we are told we must not divert the public mind from the great war on the South. (Applause.) Why, my friends, look at these things. I tell you it is in vain for you to place armies in the field. It is in vain you freely offer up your lives for your country. In vain you send your sons, brothers and friends to the field, for, I tell you, when they are placed on the battle field there is no wise system of government to sustain them there, no honest administration of affairs that will supply them with all the necessaries of life and the means of carrying on the war successfully. None doubt this. All admit that corruption destroys the army as well as it destroys the nation's morality. All men know that unless you have honesty and economy in the government of national affairs, as in the conduct of private affairs, ruin inevitably follows.

There is another matter to be referred to. By act of Congress, in 1808, when our fathers lived, who thought that honesty and integrity were essential to a nation's life, it was provided that no member of Congress should in any way be interested in contracts, and heavy penalties were imposed to guard against the infraction of the law. That law was subsequently amended, and the provision made more stringent; but though contracts have been made since the outbreak of the rebellion, amounting to hundreds of millions, the country, by no new act of Congress, has been protected by such provisions as the interest of the country at such a time demanded. I leave this matter to you, my Radical friends, to think over; I leave it to you, my Conservative friends—hitherto deterred by threats, deterred by imputations on your patriotism—to read these investigations, and to learn something of the frauds which have sapped the nation's stability. John P. Hale, the Republican Senator, told the truth when he said that the Government had more to fear from corruptions in its departments than it had from the enemy in the field. Let me pass on to the consideration of some other points. If you will examine this question for yourself—if you will sit down in your own home and inquire, as you would in regard to your own private interests, with regard to your own private concerns—what is necessary to save the public life, you will find that you will be called upon to do a great deal more and to say a great deal more than our friends upon the other side of the house deem entirely consistent with patriotism. Now, I appeal to you as business men, I appeal to you as men who, in all the concerns of life, regard all the principles I have stated, whether they should not be regarded in the conduct of our national affairs? Is corruption less dangerous

there than it is in the workshop or the counting-room? Is departure from sound principles and rules of conduct less dangerous in the management of national affairs than in the conduct of private affairs? It is only necessary in all those matters to apply to the concerns of your nation those same principles which you all adhere to with regard to your own private interests, to learn that you cannot save the nation's life. Unless you will do what we now urge you to do, not only to maintain your army, not only to support your Government, but, in addition to that, to demand a clear statement of the nation's affairs; and then, too, to demand that those affairs shall be conducted with economy, with integrity, and with honesty. Now, my friends, we must not only save the nation's life, but I want to speak a few words as to the mode by which the nation's life shall be saved. It is not my remedy. I do not stand up before you to claim to be wiser than my fellows. I do not urge this upon you, my Radical friend, because it is a conclusion I have arrived at. It is wisdom in which you are as much interested as I am; it is as much to your advantage as it is to mine. The remedy that I offer for you is the result of the wisdom, of the patriotism, of the suffering and of the toil of patriots of our own and of every land, who for long years have been endeavoring to work out principles of government that should benefit the human race. I mean the remedy for all this thing is the Constitution of the United States. [illegible] the nation's life will not only be [illegible] must be saved, by a strict and rigid [illegible] charter of your liberties. (Renewed cheers.) [illegible] is it that in this day it is spoken of so lightly. That in a time when the country is agitated—when we are in the midst of a civil war—men are so prompt to desert the great barriers which upheld not only the institutions of our country, but which protect you and each man of you in your person and in your rights? (Applause.) The Constitution of the United States! Is it a mere parchment? Is it a mere dead letter? Is it a mere record, having no vitality and no life? Tell me that yonder flag is but a piece of [illegible] work and of bunting, instead of being, as it is, a glorious emblem, instinct with everything that [illegible] our patriotic feelings and appeals to the [illegible]'s pride. (Applause.) Why we, as I have [illegible] you, are not only in favor of a loyal support [illegible] Government without condition, but we have [illegible] advantage over our opponents. We pro[illegible] to bring this war to a speedy and successful [illegible]ion, because, my friends, we have a definite [illegible] determinate object, and that is, to restore the [illegible] as it was. (Cheers.) We are told by a [illegible] many that they do not want the Union as it [illegible] but the Union as it should be according to [illegible] ideas of what the Constitution shall be. (Renewed applause.) Look for a moment at this [illegible], without impeaching the wisdom of these [illegible], without impeaching their patriotism. What [illegible] this proposition? You, my friend, who want [illegible] Union saved, you who want to know if we are [illegible] favor of bringing this war to a successful con[illegible]ion, why do you doubt us when we tell you what we propose to do—that a thing is definite, and that something is within our reach? What do you do, in the affairs of life, when you embark in a great undertaking? Have you confidence in any project that is brought before you that is indefinite in its purposes and indefinite in its end? What is this idea that men don't want the Constitution as it was, but they want an "amended Constitution." That implies that it is to be amended to suit the fancies and to suit the views of every man in our land. Have I not as good a right to say that the Constitution shall be amended to suit me, as Mr. Greeley has to say that it shall be amended to suit him? (Hisses for Greeley.) If you open this Pandora box, where does it end? One man wants a provision that is to bear heavily upon one class of the country, and another man wants a provision that will bear heavily upon another section of the country. One man wants to work at a provision that interferes with his peculiar views of governmental policy as a personal right. And when, my friend, you will for a moment tolerate this proposition that we are not to restore the Union as it was, you tolerate a proposition that, in addition to all the evils of civil war and all the uncertainties which hang over our country, is to throw into this state of affairs an endless element of discord, and of confusion too. (Applause.) You must see this, and all men must feel this.

Now, what are the facts? I again appeal to you, my Radical friends; for I speak for you as well as for myself and for those who are with me. For you we ask for good government, as well as for ourselves. I say to you, then, if you find in those journals that affect to lay before you facts concerning the nation, statements of the monstrous frauds, clearly developed, not charged by us, not subjects of vague representations, but proved to exist by authentic documents emanating from Congress and public investigations, I appeal to you, at this time, when the nation's life is at stake, to seriously think about these terrible corruptions before pointed out to your attention. Our friends on the other side of the house love to talk about the nation's life being in danger, while they do not want you to talk about what is due to the nation's life. I tell you, my friends, that happy individual who hopes to conceal from the world the causes of his downward course, he hopes that concealment will be at another time remedied; but he only hastens himself to an untimely end. I tell you that the Government which conceals frauds committed against itself, and which considers it unpatriotic to lay them bare, is on the road to destruction. Let the matter of slavery be forgotten —let it be true that no African ever placed his foot upon the soil of this country—I tell you, if you have a corrupt Government you will be destroyed, you will be doomed as inevitably as if the army of the insurgents was this moment entering the capital of your country. Corruption will not only destroy a nation's peace, but will destroy a nation's character. Let me call your attention to a fact that should be rung throughout the land, and I will ask you if it ever before has been pre-

sented to your consideration, through the press, or by those who stand up for the Government, in their own way, in this dread crisis of our country's fate, when everything should teach men to be honest and faithful—I ask you if ever before this fact has been presented to your consideration? I select only one from a vast mass of testimony. The document is numbered fraud sixty-two. These are the investigations of a single committee of Congress. Look at the large volumes they have put forth. I ask whether or not it is right for us to lay such matters before you—we who loyally support the Government—we who bear the badges of mourning for those who fell early graves on the battle-fields of the country, and who were called traitors when we attempted in good faith and in all sincerity to lay before the people those things that threatened the nation's life? I hold in my hand a report of a committee signed by Robert Dale Owen and Joseph Holt, in which it is stated, among other things—among a great many other things—that among the contracts for arms there is one of this nature. There was an establishment in the habit of furnishing revolving pistols to the governments of Europe at the rate of twelve dollars and a half a piece. This war broke out—the fate of the country was involved. And what does this very patriotic man—contractor—do, who doubtless expresses, with fervor and earnestness, that we should not talk about these things, but look Southward? He charges the Government twenty-five dollars a piece for this very same kind of arm. That is not all. Another concern offered to furnish the Government with a similar article for $15 a piece, and to enable it to do so a new establishment had to be erected to meet the competition, and to be paid for, no doubt, out of the profits of the contract. Now, although it is admitted that the cheap contractor made a better article at a much lower rate than the other, he could only obtain a contract for 5,000 pistols, while the patriotic individual who charged $25 for an article he sold elsewhere for $12.50, received an order for 25,000 pistols. The profits on that single transaction alone were over and above $30,000. I have selected this as a very clear case, easily explained.

Look at the questions which are settled by that Constitution, which, if unsettled, would agitate and shake this land to its very centre. Many of us here to-night are from New England, and many of us are of New England descent. Look at that compromise. Here are six States, with less population than New York, or less territory than Ohio, Missouri or Michigan, having six—nay, every man in New England has seven—times the voice of a man in New York in the Senate of the United States, which to-day has the controlling branch of your government. We are willing to have that thing so; we are willing to accept that, because our fathers thus determined it; we are willing to submit to it, and to that equality, because we love our country and will make sacrifices for it. (Applause.) If you begin to amend our Constitution, where are you to stop? Some one will say, why don't you say that all men are born free and equal? Why is a man born in New York not equal to a man born in New England? (Laughter.) Where will you end? Where will this war end if you disregard the Constitution? I appeal to you to look to your Constitution; take it up and read it; see the questions that have been settled, and see to what a condition you will be brought if you will enter upon the business of shaking that to pieces, and of bringing questions before this great, excited community, now involved in all the horrors of civil war—questions that were settled only by the utmost calmness and utmost patriotism, under the pressure which was brought to bear upon them by all the exercise and all the suffering of the revolutionary struggle. (Applause.) God knows I love my country. He who knows my thoughts knows that I long to serve it. (Applause, and a voice "You can prove it.") He who knows all things knows that I would count my life as nothing, if I could but save the nation's life. (Renewed cheers.) Why, then, am I asked if we are willing to bring this war to a speedy prompt and glorious conclusion? Have we less interest, my Radical friend, than you have in the glory of this our land? Are you not Republicans, for nearly ten years, we managed the government; that under our administration, with all our faults (and God knows they were numerous enough), with all our weakness (and we have occasion each day to pray God be merciful to us sinners), with all that you may lay as errors of judgment—corruptions if you please—(and I don't claim to be better than you are, and never have claimed that), with all our faults and all our errors, we do say that while we governed this country it became the greatest and the most glorious that the eye of the world ever saw. (Applause.) Why, we were more prosperous not because we were wiser than you—nor because we were better than you, but because, in our humility, we were willing to accept the teachings of the fathers and to follow the paths which they had trod. (Cheers.) We merely did what each man of you does in the ordinary affairs of life: we adhered to those well-tried principles of action which you adhere to in your stores which have made you the successful merchants. We engage in theories; you don't trust men that do; and if you don't trust men with your private affairs, why do you trust them with the conduct of the government? My Radical friend, with his superior wisdom and superior virtue, if he will have it so, will find that he has committed an error in deviating from those great principles which have established by the experience of the world. You are following men whom you admit, when speaking of them, as unfit to be trusted in your own private affairs, and yet when they are placed at the head of the national organization, you place them at heads at us as if we were untrue men. With regard to that Constitution, I beg of you to read it again. Where in any Constitution in the world, where in any government in the world that ever existed, do you find it laid down so clearly and so plainly the limits of your rights and the limits of your duties? In what other government in the world is this the truth—that one man stand up and address this whole community and say, I have my rights of conscience and no man can step in between me and my God—except in this land of ours, under this Constitution which I defend? In what other land is that proclamation? In what other country in the world is the judiciary placed above the law-making power, to hold it in restraint? If your persons are invaded, if your homes are invaded, or your rights invaded in any way that is inconsistent with that great charter, not only of a nation's liberty but of your personal liberties, oh! I implore you, before you listen to the sophistries of men who say that this Constitution is not to be regarded, look to what you are throwing away—that which no other people on the whole history of the world ever enjoyed before. Written Constitutions are the things in the history of the people of the world; and, as I said before, our own contains provisions for the security of the citizen, for the security of his home and for the safety of his person that are unknown in the governments in the world. I care not what the form of that government may be. It is a thing for men in other lands to understand that the judiciary can say to Congress, or can say to the Executive of your Government, you have placed a law in the statute book, that law is a dead letter, although it may represent the voice of nine-tenths of the people of this country, if it invades the rights of the conscience of a single man. I care not how poor or humble he may be; it is but dust and ashes, and is of no avail. (Applause.) But I cannot stay follow out the discussion of the questions involved in the question of your constitutional rights. I implore you to look at them carefully, and don't think that this Constitution is something that belongs to the people of the South and not to you. Why, you—the people of this great commercial metropolis

cile—you, whose ships whiten every ocean, you of this great city, the marvel of the world—have more interest in this Constitution, a more varied interest, a more vocifical interest, than the whole South put together. If you will look into its provisions you will find it so. And they who assail that Constitution are not men merely who would assail the constitutional rights of the South, but they are men that would break down the barriers which it erects around your home and around those which you hold dear. (Loud applause.) I want to say what we are going to do. I have told you our position; I have told you what we must do to save the country's life, and what we must not do unless we would destroy the country's life. Let me say a word to you, "higher law" men of the North. You must give up that doctrine. (Applause.) You must submit yourself to the laws. You must be obedient to authority. You must come upon the ground we have ever held, and we intend to compel you to do it in this way. We do not like your teachings; we think you have taught this people fatal errors; we think you are governed by wrong principles; but you have confined yourselves within the limits of your legal rights; for this we respect you, and therefore we shall put you down by the ballot. But with another class of higher law men—the higher law men of the South—who also have erected themselves against the laws of the land and rightful authority, who have undertaken to resist its decrees, who would not content themselves with the ballot, but would have the bayonet and the bullet, to them we say, we will settle that question, then, with the bayonet and the bullet. (Great and long-continued applause.) We did not want this war. We implored them not to engage in it. We entreated the higher law men of the North and the higher law men of the South to abstain from this monstrous conflict. Now, when the men of the South made the bayonet and the sword the arbitrator (they elected, and not we); when they determined to settle it by blood (and not we), the sword, so far as the present is concerned, must be the arbiter, and in our strong right arms it shall strike vigorous and true blows for the life of our country, for its institutions, and for its flag. (Applause.) Now let me say this to the higher law men of the North, and to the higher law men of the South, and to the whole world that looks on, witnesses to the mighty events transpiring in this country, that this Union never shall be severed—no, never! (Loud cheers.) Would that my voice could be heard through every Southern State, and I would tell them their mistake. Look at the Conservative triumphs in the North, and listen not to the teachings of those who say that we are not true to the Union and the Constitution. You know that we are those who battled for long years for the Constitution and vindicated your rights, when they were assailed and denounced. You know that when you deserted your country's flag, you deserted us who had been true to the principles of the Constitution. (Loud cheers.) Read these triumphs, and they tell you that they bring into power men whose love for the Constitution is a tradition—men who inherited it from their fathers—men who consider it identified with the Constitution which we are pledged to uphold. Therefore it is we tell you, and we tell the whole world, that this great conservative party will erect the shattered columns of the Union. (Cheers.) We will lift it higher up still, nearer Heaven than it was before, and from its lofty top and growing greatness there shall ever wave your nation's flag, with every star and every stripe that has been placed there in the wonderful progress of our country; and whatever other men may say, as for the conservative people of this country and as for myself as an individual—let other men say and think what they please—as for the division of this Union, and the breaking up of that great natural alliance which is made by nature and by nature's God, I never will consent to it—no, never, as long as I have a voice to raise or a hand to fight for this our glorious land. (Loud cheers.)